CHAPTER 9 Nations, Nation-States, and Internationalism

Figure 9-1 This photograph of Earth was taken by American astronaut William Anders on December 24, 1968, just as the crew of *Apollo 8* emerged from their first orbit around the dark side of the moon, which appears at the right. It was the first photograph of Earth taken from deep space.

CHAPTER ISSUE

To what extent does involvement in international affairs benefit nations and states?

WHEN THE PICTURE on the previous page was published, it created a sensation. Human beings had never before seen a picture of Earth taken from deep space. To many, the planet appeared as a glowing jewel with no sign of human habitation. American nature photographer Galen Rowell, for example, called this picture "the most influential environmental photograph ever taken."

And Pulitzer Prize–winning American poet Archibald MacLeish wrote: "To see the earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves as riders on the earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold — brothers who know now they are truly brothers."

Examine the photograph, then respond to these questions:

- How does the photograph suggest that the earth is a community in which everyone shares the same future?
- How does it suggest that humanity must deal with challenges, not only as individuals, but also as nations, nation-states, and a global community?
- Why do you suppose Galen Rowell called this picture "the most influential environmental photograph ever taken"?
- How do Archibald MacLeish's words capture the essence of the photograph's meaning? How do his words reflect the time he lived in?
- If you set out to take a picture that would capture the essence of MacLeish's words, what might you choose to photograph?

KEY TERMS

needs
wants
isolationism
unilateralism
bilateralism
multilateralism
supranationalism
internationalism

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will develop responses to the following questions as you explore the extent to which international affairs benefit nations and states:

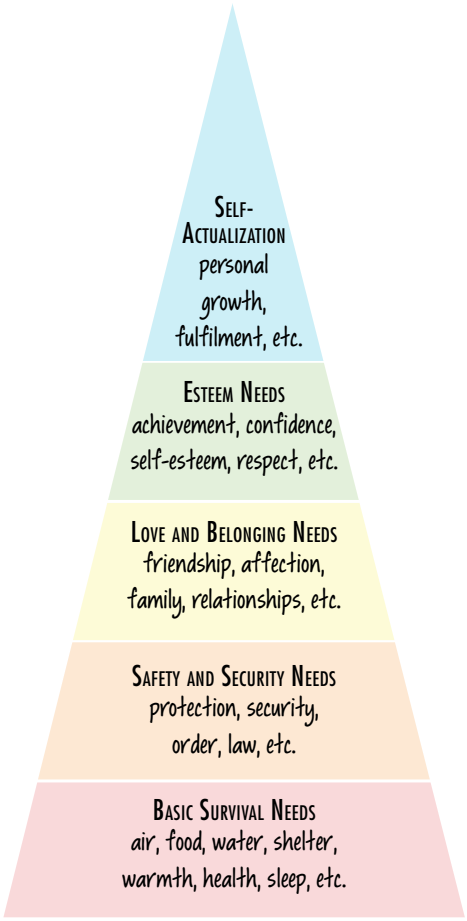
- What are some common motives of nations and states?
- How do the motives of nations and states shape their responses to the world?
- What are some understandings of internationalism?
- How does internationalism benefit nations and states?

My Journal on Nationalism

Look again at the photograph on the previous page. Think about how you could use photographs to express your current ideas about nationalism. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them as you progress this course.

What are some common motives of nations and states?

Figure 9-2 Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs


Self-Actualization
personal growth, fulfilment, etc.
Esteem Needs
achievement, confidence, self-esteem, respect, etc.
Love and Belonging Needs
friendship, affection, family, relationships, etc.
Safety and Security Needs
protection, security, order, law, etc.
Basic Survival Needs
air, food, water, shelter, warmth, health, sleep, etc.

Think about the range of human activity on this planet and what motivates people to take action. Psychologists believe that people are motivated by both needs and wants.

Needs are the basic elements — food, water, shelter, health — required for survival. **Wants** are things that people desire, regardless of whether the desired object contributes to their survival. People may, for example, want a cellphone, a fulfilling job, or to dress in the latest fashion, but they do not *need* these things to survive.

Both needs and wants are powerful motivators that encourage people to go to school, to practise a skill, or to work at a job.

Psychologist Abraham Maslow believed that human needs follow a universal pattern or hierarchy. He said that all humans are motivated to meet their basic survival needs — located at the bottom of the pyramid shown in Figure 9-2. Once these needs are met, people begin to be concerned about safety and security, which are the next level up in the hierarchy. And once people satisfy their need for safety and security, they turn their attention to other motivators, such as love, self-esteem, and personal growth and fulfilment.

Think about the motivators listed in Figure 9-2. Why do you think Maslow chose to show these needs as a hierarchy? How well are your needs at each level being met? How might this situation change in five years?

Maslow's theory is not universally accepted. Some critics believe that human nature is too complex to depict as the kind of hierarchy he envisioned. They say, for example, that some humans are born with a powerful need to help others and that, in some cases, this need may override their own need for safety and security.

FYI

In 1938, Abraham Maslow spent time with the Siksika who lived near Calgary. Maslow came to admire the Siksika people, and his observations of their culture challenged his previous understandings about how human nature develops and influenced his theory of human needs.

Figure 9-3 Afghan children greeted these Canadian soldiers as they patrolled outside their base near Kandahar. List factors that might motivate someone to join the Armed Forces. Classify each factor as a want or a need.

Motives of Successful Nations and Nation-States

Just as the behaviour of individuals is motivated by a complex variety of needs and wants, so, too, are the actions of nations and nation-states. Nations are made up of human beings and nation-states are made up of — and governed by — human beings. Successful nation-states, especially those with democratic governments, are often motivated by the need to serve their citizens by providing economic stability, peace and security, self-determination, and humanitarian activities.

The needs and wants that motivate nation-states do not operate in isolation. They overlap, combine, and build on one another in a complex relationship.

Economic Stability

People and nation-states face similar economic questions about the future. Individuals may worry, for example, about being able to support their family. As a result, they are motivated to find jobs that provide economic stability. Finding this kind of job may require learning a trade or staying in school long enough to earn the educational qualifications needed to pursue a specific career. Nations may take similar steps to prepare for the economic future.

Economic stability depends on a number of factors, including high employment. High employment promotes economic stability because people who have jobs have more money to spend. When people spend more money on goods and services, they create demand — and demand requires more goods and services. The demand for more goods and services means that employers are likely to hire more workers. This creates more jobs and leads to high employment.

High employment helps create prosperity for individuals and also for governments, which are able to collect more taxes and use the proceeds to pay for government services.

Examine the graphic in Figure 9-4, which shows the positive effects of high employment. Use this graphic to explain to a partner how high employment can promote economic stability. Work with your partner to create a similar graphic to show the opposite: how high unemployment might negatively affect economic stability.

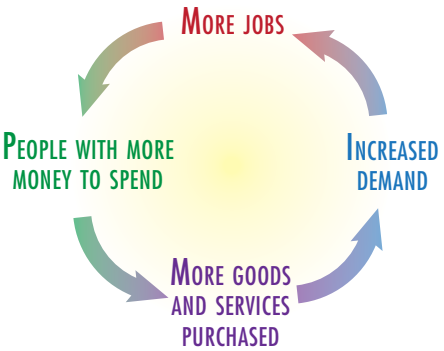


Figure 9-4 Positive Effects of High Employment

Confidence in the economy and in our long-term economic growth demands even greater co-operation to ready a comfort zone of optimal national security. Without a "secure economy," businesses will struggle to grow and earn profits and the revenues for governments will be at risk.

— John Reid, president, Canadian Advanced Technology Alliance, 2006

Figure 9-5 Largely because of high oil revenues, the construction industry in Alberta is booming. What workers might be able to get jobs at this Calgary construction site? How might the construction boom lead to positive and negative effects for construction workers and society?

Peace and Security

Is it ever possible for a government to meet all the peace and security needs of a country's citizens?

Psychologist Abraham Maslow believed that safety and security is the second-most-important human need. It is hard to be happy or to live a satisfying life when faced with violence or conflict. People want safe streets, they want their possessions to be secure, and they want to live free of fear of suffering physical or psychological harm.

People who live in countries where they do not feel safe may be unable to attend school or work productively — and citizens who feel insecure are more likely to oppose the government. In addition, countries need well-educated, well-trained workers because a skilled and experienced workforce helps create economic prosperity. This need motivates governments to try to ensure the safety and security needs of citizens.

In countries like Canada, where the Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees security of the person, security is considered a human right that the government must provide. People also have access to a legal system that helps keep the peace and settle disagreements fairly and safely.

Like individuals, nation-states are also motivated by concerns about national peace and security. Wars kill and injure people, cause immense grief, destroy property, and deprive people and countries of economic stability. People around the world want to be free of war and to feel protected against ruthless governments that seek conquests.

Figure 9-6 These women are among the 60 000 people who live in the Otash refugee camp in the Darfur region of Sudan, where 2.5 million people have been displaced by fighting between government forces and rebels. What might be some long-term effects of the lack of peace and security created by the civil conflict in Sudan?

Independently and collectively, states have taken steps to promote peace and ensure that their citizens can live in safety. Canada, for example, belongs to a number of organizations whose goals involve ensuring national security. These include the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, an alliance of more than 25 countries, including Canada. NATO's purpose is to safeguard the freedom and security of its members. The North American Aerospace Defense Command is a Canada–United States partnership that is responsible for defending North American air space. The United Nations is an organization dedicated to improving world peace and stability.

Why would countries be motivated to co-operate with other nation-states to ensure peace and security? Would a country with a strong military — such as the United States — be motivated as strongly as nation-states whose armed forces are smaller?

Self-Determination

Most people agree that it is important to control their own lives. People want to make their own decisions about friends, relationships, education and work, and how to spend their free time. For many people, the greatest benefit of adulthood is an increased level of self-determination, which allows them to control their own fate.

Nations and nation-states also want to control their own fate and may try to do this by seeking either self-determination or outright sovereignty. This is what has happened in the former Soviet Union. Since this huge political union started to collapse in the late 1980s, 15 sovereign nation-states have emerged.

Indigenous peoples around the world are also fighting to achieve greater self-determination. In the colonial era, many Indigenous peoples lost control over their own lives to imperial powers. Today, they are seeking to determine for themselves the future course of their lives. For some, this means seeking sovereignty; for others, it means seeking self-determination within a larger nation-state.

In 2005, the Carcross Tagish First Nation of Yukon successfully negotiated a self-government agreement with Canada. The nation's Tagish and Tlingit Elders drafted a statement — in Tagish, Tlingit, and English — describing why the agreement is so important. The following is some of what they said:

> We who are Tagish and we who are Tinglit, our heritage has grown roots into the earth since the olden times. Therefore we are part of the earth and the water. We know our Creator entrusted us with the responsibility of looking after the land into perpetuity, and the water, and whatever is on our land, and what is beneath our land. So those coming after us, we will give them that responsibility into perpetuity. Our elders have assigned us the task of showing respect to things. Therefore, we will look after our land as they have told us to do, as did our elders . . .
>
> We will be the bosses of our land . . . and all the resources of this land, as we have agreed on. We will be our own masters. We who are the Tagish, and we who are the Tlingit, will protect our land . . . we will reform the way we work with the government. We will work together with mutual respect, and act truthfully [toward each other].

Reread the words of the Carcross Tagish Elders. What understanding(s) of nation do these words reflect? How do the Elders view their relationship with the other levels of government in Canada?

CheckBack

You read about understandings of nation in Chapter 1.

How can Aboriginal peoples within Canada, or in any country, be a nation within a nation?

Figure 9-7 Members of the Carcross Tagish First Nation demonstrate in Carcross, Yukon, during the 2007 National Day of Action. This First Nation negotiated a self-government agreement with the Canadian government in 2005. Why might members of this First Nation have believed that participating in the National Day of Action was still important?

Humanitarianism

FYI

In December 2006, an earthquake under the Indian Ocean created a huge tsunami — tidal wave — that struck parts of Southeast Asia. About five million people in Indonesia, India, and Sri Lanka were directly affected. Canadians responded by donating millions of dollars to help tsunami victims, while some Canadians chose to go help the sick and injured and to help rebuild villages, schools, and hospitals.

Family members, neighbours, friends, and people living together in communities are often motivated to help one another. Neighbours, for example, may help out when there is illness in a family or when someone is injured in an accident. People are also often motivated to help those who are less fortunate, even when they do not know them personally. High school students, for example, often organize food drives for the local food bank, as well as campaigns to raise money for charitable and humanitarian causes.

Many nation-states also take action to relieve suffering and protect the innocent. Natural disasters, disease, war, and conflict can all cause tremendous suffering. In these situations, many countries offer humanitarian aid, which may include providing money and supplies, as well as accepting and sheltering refugees. Every year, the Canadian government directly sponsors more than 7000 refugees. Private groups, which are responsible for the people they sponsor for a year after their arrival, sponsor several thousand more.

Re-examine Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of human needs (Figure 9-2). Which category do you think includes people's need to help others? How might offering humanitarian aid benefit nations and countries?

Figure 9-8 Alan Hoti, a Kosovo refugee, is greeted by his uncle at Thompson Airport in Manitoba. Members of St. John's United Church in Thompson collected the items necessary for three refugee families from Kosovo to establish themselves in Canada. In what way does sheltering refugees require both individual and state humanitarianism?

FYI

In 2006, refugee agencies run by the United Nations provided aid to about 14 million people around the world. These refugees were fleeing war, disasters, or persecution.

Reflect and Respond

How might the needs of wealthy countries differ from those of poor countries?

Reflect on what you have read in this chapter so far and rank the motives of developed and developing countries in order of importance from most to least. Record your choices and explain the criteria you used to make your judgments.

Then think about some of the common needs and motives of nations and states. How similar are they to the common needs and motives of individuals? How does this information show that nations and states are human entities?

THE VIEW FROM HERE

When countries are unable to meet the needs of their citizens, they may be classified as "failed states." But what causes a state to fail? Does the cause lie within the failed state or with the world community? Here is how three people have attempted to answer these questions.

Robert I. Rotberg is a professor of public policy at Harvard University and president of the World Peace Foundation. The following excerpt is from his contribution to *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*.

> State failure is largely man made, not accidental. Cultural clues are relevant, but insufficient to explain persistent leadership flaws. Likewise, institutional fragilities and structural flaws contribute to failure . . . but those deficiencies usually hark back to decisions or actions of men (rarely women). So it is that leadership errors across history have destroyed states for personal gain; in the contemporary era, leadership mistakes continue to erode fragile polities [countries] in Africa, the Americas, Asia, and Oceania that already operate on the cusp of failure.

Erin Simpson is a former policy officer with the Canadian Council for International Co-operation. In this excerpt from an article published in *Peace Magazine*, Simpson examines the role of rich countries and failed states.

> Obsessed as rich countries are with stabilizing the world's "failed and fragile states," the idea that these same rich countries are key causes of "failed states" is not on the table. The "failed states" frame ignores the international community's responsibility for the conflict and weak governance – past, present, and (unless things change) future. If we accept . . . that our world is an interconnected system, and that conflicts arise from both outside and within a society, then we will stop debating *whether* or *how* to get involved in the world's troubled areas. The international community is inherently involved, both in originating and responding to problems.

Jean-Pierre Lindiro Kabirigi is a consultant with the Pole Institute, a non-governmental organization based in Rwanda. The following comments are from a 2005 speech titled "Failed States in Sub-Saharan Africa — Causes, Consequences, and Possible Interventions."

> On several occasions, many analysts have thought that the solutions to recover peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo have to be found out from outside, especially by protecting the country from its cumbersome neighbours. Although the involvement of Congo's neighbours accounts somehow for the Congo's disastrous state, it is important to point out that before their arrival, the DRC was already a failed state. Moreover, such analysis ignores how much the Congo's elites have played an important role to damage their own country. Congo nationals co-operated themselves with the invaders in what made foreign looting of the DRC possible. In my opinion, what Congo lacks the most is not international assistance. What it profoundly needs is patriotism of the elites.

Explorations

1. Cite one criterion each speaker or writer used to define a "failed state."
2. Which view do you think is the most persuasive? What criteria did you use to make this judgment?
3. Explain how the ideas expressed in these excerpts are linked to the motivations of nations and states: peace and security, economic stability, self-determination, and humanitarianism.

Botswana and Zimbabwe Similar Geography, Different Results

Botswana and Zimbabwe are neighbours in southern Africa. The two countries share a border and many economic and geographic features. Despite these similarities, the two countries have evolved very differently. Botswana enjoys much greater political stability and economic prosperity than Zimbabwe.

In 2007, the Fund for Peace, a non-governmental organization devoted to preventing war and easing the conditions that cause war, ranked 177 countries on its annual index. Zimbabwe's risk of failure was considered the fourth-highest in the world, while Botswana ranked 119th. By comparison, Canada ranked 168th and is considered relatively successful.

Similar Colonial Histories

Both Botswana and Zimbabwe were British colonies, and in both, the economy was controlled by the white minority. When the two countries gained independence, both were rich in natural and human resources, with great potential for the future. Zimbabwe was a major agricultural exporter, although most land was owned by members of the white minority. Botswana had a strong cattle- and meat-exporting economy, which was in the hands of local peoples.

Figure 9-9 Botswana and Zimbabwe

Botswana achieved independence peacefully in 1966 and became a parliamentary republic. For the next five years, the country remained financially dependent on Britain. But development took off after the discovery of diamonds in 1967, and the country is now the leading exporter of gem-quality diamonds. This improves the government's ability to provide services to the people.

In contrast, the white minority in Zimbabwe refused to give up control, and this led to a long and violent civil war that divided the country along racial lines. As a result, Zimbabwe did not achieve independence until 1980.

Figure 9-10 Botswana and Zimbabwe — A Comparison

Category	Botswana	Zimbabwe
GDP per person (2006)	$10 900 (U.S.)	$2100 (U.S.)
Inflation rate	11.5% (2006)	1033.5% (2006) 24 000% (2007)
Life expectancy at birth	50.58 years	39.5 years
HIV/AIDS rate	37.3%	24.6%
Population per physician	3477	17 439
Population per hospital bed	635	1959
Educational expenditures as share of GDP	9.3%	11.1%
Number of students per teacher – primary school	27	39
Number of years of compulsory school	10	7
Number of Internet users	60 000	1 220 000
Number of telephone land lines	136 900	331 700
Number of cellphones	979 800	832 500
Number of televisions per 1000 people	27	36
Number of motor vehicles per 1000 people	92	50

Differing Quality of Life

Robert Mugabe, who has led Zimbabwe since independence, was praised at first as a leading figure in African democracy. But this did not last. Although Zimbabwe is officially a parliamentary democracy, Mugabe gradually established a one-party state by violently stifling opposition and trampling the rights of citizens.

In 2000, Mugabe seized the farms of white landowners and handed the property to members of his government and other supporters. Soon afterwards, agricultural production plummeted and exports dropped drastically. Foreign and local investment dried up, and the country's economy slowed down dramatically.

As more and more Zimbabweans began to feel the effects of the economic downturn, the number of people living in makeshift urban slums and shantytowns swelled. Crime shot up, and in 2005, Mugabe's government ordered a crackdown on these areas. Police and security forces evicted people from their homes, setting whole communities ablaze and beating anyone who resisted. By 2006, the homes and livelihoods of an estimated 570 000 people had been destroyed and they had become internally displaced persons.

By the end of 2007, unemployment in Zimbabwe stood at 80 per cent and inflation had skyrocketed to an estimated annual rate of 24 000 per cent — and some economists suggested that the rate was even higher. The situation was so desperate that in July 2007, Mugabe ordered businesses to reduce prices or be seized by the government. Businesses were forced to open, and riots erupted as people tried to buy the few available goods. Gasoline, bread, and other basic commodities quickly sold out, and no new supplies were available.

Meanwhile, Botswana has experienced four decades of political stability and its economy is one of the most dynamic in Africa. And even though the country's rate of HIV/AIDS infection is one of the highest in the world, the Botswana government has put in place one of the most progressive programs in Africa for dealing with this disease.

Figure 9-11 In November 2007, Godfrey Chirenje (right) of Harare waited in line for three hours to buy the loaf of bread he is carrying. By January 2008, the price of bread had risen to as much as a million Zimbabwean dollars a loaf.

As the situation in Zimbabwe became worse, thousands of Zimbabweans flooded into Botswana in search of work. But they were not welcomed. Botswana's unemployment rate was already higher than 20 per cent, and the government did not want its citizens to lose jobs to foreigners.

In 2003, Botswana began building an electric fence along its 500-kilometre border with Zimbabwe. The official reason for building the fence was to stop the spread of foot-and-mouth disease among livestock. In 2003, Botswana lost 13 000 cattle to the disease, which the government claimed was brought across the border from Zimbabwe. But Zimbabweans argue that this rationale is nothing but window dressing. They say that the fence, which is four metres high, is clearly intended to keep people out — and the barrier remains a source of tension between the two countries.

Explorations

1. To meet citizens' needs, nation-states must provide peace and security, economic stability, self-determination, and humanitarian activities. How do the stories of Botswana and Zimbabwe demonstrate the importance of meeting these needs?
2. Examine Figure 9-10 and explain how these statistics highlight the differences in the quality of life of citizens of Botswana and Zimbabwe. How do you think these statistics might affect the sense of nationalism felt by the people of each country?
3. How might living next door to a failing state affect the citizens of a country such as Botswana? Is building an electrified fence an appropriate way of protecting its sovereignty and meeting the needs of its citizens? Explain your response.

Decision Making and Problem Solving

Experts studying decision making and problem solving have found that decisions made in a systematic way tend to result in more positive outcomes. One strategy that contributes to improved decision making and problem solving is brainstorming, a technique that involves generating alternative ideas.

The story of Botswana and Zimbabwe shows that not all nation-states are successful. When a country is unable to meet the needs of its citizens, it is at risk of failure. A failing state, for example, may be unable to provide citizens with public services, such as basic health care, including vaccinations and other preventive measures. Inadequate health care places citizens at risk of dying prematurely.

According to the 2007 Failed States Index, Zimbabwe was in a state of social, economic, and political crisis. This index rates each country on the basis of 12 indicators divided into three categories (see Figure 9-12). A total score is then calculated. This score estimates a country's risk of failure.

Suppose a delegation from Zimbabwe has approached your group to help develop a plan for improving the quality of life in their country. You and your group must decide on the most effective way of doing this.

Steps to Decision Making and Problem Solving

Step 1: Establish a goal

In a small group, think about the factors that place Zimbabwe at risk of failure and what help would be most significant for Zimbabweans. To do this, you may wish to review the information in Figure 9-9 (p. 216) and Figure 9-12 on this page. Having a specific goal in mind will help you develop an effective strategy that will bring positive results.

Do you, for example, want to help internally displaced people find homes? Or improve health care or education? Once your goal is set, you can focus on developing a strategy to help Zimbabweans achieve it.

Step 2: Consider the complex issues that underlie the question

Complexities such as sovereignty enter the picture. Interfering in the affairs of another country is difficult. Think about how you would feel in the same position. Many Canadians, for example, resent it when Americans suggest ways that Canada might be improved.

Because of the colonial experience, people in many African countries view help from former colonial powers and wealthy Western countries as interference. Keep the issue of sovereignty in mind as you generate and evaluate ideas. If necessary, conduct additional research to comfirm your ideas.

Figure 9-12 Indicators Used to Calculate a State's Risk of Failure

Social Indicators
1. Mounting demographic pressures
2. Massive movement of refugees or internally displaced persons, creating complex humanitarian emergencies
3. Legacy of vengeance-seeking group grievance or group paranoia
4. Chronic and sustained human flight
Economic Indicators
5. Uneven economic development along group lines
6. Sharp or severe economic decline or both
Political Indicators
7. Criminalization or delegitimization (removal of legitimate status) of the state, or both
8. Progressive deterioration of public services
9. Suspension or arbitrary application of the rule of law and widespread violation of human rights
10. Security apparatus operates as a "state within a state"
11. Rise of factionalized elites
12. Intervention of other states or external political actors

Step 3: Brainstorm ideas

Appoint one group member to lead a brainstorming session and another to record ideas. Then brainstorm to generate as many ideas for achieving your goal as possible.

Make sure that everyone in your group has an opportunity to contribute to the discussion. Listen carefully. You may come up with a new idea after hearing someone else's suggestion. At this stage, do not worry about whether ideas are "right" or "wrong," practical or impractical. You never know where an idea will lead the group.

Step 4: Evaluate alternatives

When you finish brainstorming, return to your original goal and set criteria to help you judge which idea will most effectively help you achieve this goal. You may choose to include some of the indicators used to calculate a state's risk of failure (Figure 9-12) among your criteria. You may also choose your own criteria.

The following are some common criteria:

- Will the idea work? (Is it practical?)
- Is the idea fair? (Is it legal and respectful?)
- What are some possible consequences? (Both positive and negative.) Will the effects be short- or long-term? How many people will be helped?

A chart like the following can help you evaluate each idea.

Step 5: Make a decision

With your group, review your evaluation of alternatives and decide which idea will achieve your goal most effectively. Over the course of this discussion, you may decide to combine two or more ideas.

Choose a reporter to present your idea to the class and explain the criteria your group used to arrive at your decision. Be prepared to answer classmates' questions about your choice.

Evaluating Brainstorming Alternatives

Idea	Strengths	Weaknesses

Summing Up

As you progress through this course, you will encounter many opportunities to practise decision-making and problem-solving skills. You can use similar steps to help you do this.

How do the motives of nations and states shape their responses to the world?

The responses of nations and states to world events are often motivated by a complex range of factors linked to people's needs. A country in which people want peace and security, for example, may choose to withdraw from contact with other nation-states and focus on its own affairs. This response, which may help people feel protected against the threat of war, was common during the Great Depression — and it gave leaders like Adolf Hitler the opportunity to expand their territory and crush opposition without interference from the international community.

When deciding how to respond to the world, countries may choose from a range of possibilities, including isolationism, unilateralism, bilateralism, multilateralism, and supranationalism. Like responses to all complex issues, each choice can generate both positive and negative effects.

CheckBack

You read about the rise of ultranationalist movements in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

Isolationism

As the world becomes more globalized, are countries likely to choose isolationism more or less often?

True **isolationism** means that a country completely opts out of participating in international social, economic, political, and military affairs. Until 1854, Japan, for example, had followed an isolationist policy for more than two centuries. During this time, Japan's isolation was so complete that foreigners were barred from entering the country and trade with other countries was discouraged.

How might a policy of complete isolation benefit a country or nation? How might it hurt?

The nearly complete isolationism practised by Japan is rare. More commonly, countries choose to follow an isolationist policy in one area but not in others. Switzerland, for example, refuses to take sides in disputes with other countries and has not joined military alliances. But this country also maintains diplomatic ties with other countries and is a member of the United Nations. And Switzerland has joined other countries in environmental and economic agreements.

Figure 9-13 In 1853, an American fleet under the command of Commodore Matthew Perry landed at Yokohama, Japan. Perry's goal was to persuade Japan to start trading with the United States, and in 1854, the two countries negotiated a trade agreement that ended Japan's isolation from the world.

Unilateralism

Countries are sometimes motivated to respond to events on their own, or unilaterally. **Unilateralism** became an issue during the nuclear arms race, which pitted the United States and its allies against the Soviet Union and its allies. When the arms race began after World War II as part of the Cold War, people feared that nuclear war would destroy life on Earth. Countries began to discuss arms reduction and even full disarmament — the destruction of all nuclear weapons by all countries.

But these discussions did not go well. As a result, some argued that disarming unilaterally — without an international agreement — would be the best way to protect the planet.

Taking Turns

Is isolationism a valid response to world issues?

The students responding to this question are Rick, who was born in the United States and moved to Fort McMurray when he was 10; Blair, who lives in Edmonton and whose heritage is Ukrainian, Scottish, and German; and Pearl, who lives in St. Albert and whose great-great-great grandfather immigrated from China to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Rick

A country can no more be isolationist than a family living in the middle of a city can live in isolation from everyone else. In any community, things are interconnected. You couldn't escape the connections, even if you wanted to. The clothes you wear, the food you eat, the tools you use all connect you to other people. And then there are services like electricity, water, phones, cable TV, garbage collection — they're all provided by other people. So even if you don't talk to people and think you're completely isolated, you're still connected to others by a huge network. The question shouldn't ask whether isolationism is a valid response. It should ask whether isolationism is even possible. I say that it isn't — and the same is true for countries.

My neighbours can live any way they want, and so can I. As long as we stay on our own side of the fence, it's nobody else's business what I do. Isolationism among countries is like us minding our own business. If a country doesn't want to have contact with other countries, that's their right. In fact, maybe the world would be better off if more countries were isolationist and didn't try to stick their noses into other countries' business. We don't like others telling us how to deal with minorities or the seal hunt or taxes, so why do we think we have a right to tell other countries how to handle their own affairs? We should all just look after our own lives.

Blair

Pearl

I came across a piece of writing that I think expresses how people can't live in isolation. It was written by an Englishman, John Donne, in the 17th century. The language is old-fashioned, and it talks about "man" when it means all people, but that was how they spoke 400 years ago. The "bell" Donne talks about is the church bell that used to be rung when someone died. Here's what he said: "No man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main. If a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friends or of thine own were. Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind, and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Rick, Blair, and Pearl are answering? Explain the reasons for your response.

Figure 9-14 The Nanticoke Generating Station on Lake Erie in Ontario is the largest coal-fired power plant in North America — and the largest source of toxic air pollution in Canada. In 2005, this plant released more than 17 million tonnes of the greenhouse gases that contribute to global climate change. Why is bilateral co-operation important when it comes to environmental issues?

Bilateralism

When two countries are motivated by the same issue or need, they may take bilateral action. **Bilateralism** refers to agreements between two countries. In 1991, for example, Canada entered into a bilateral agreement with the United States in an attempt to solve the problem of acid rain — precipitation that has been turned acidic by air pollutants such as sulfur dioxide. These pollutants are emitted into the atmosphere by vehicles and industry, such as coal-burning power generating plants.

Acid rain affects the environment and the economy because it destroys life in lakes and rivers, damages buildings, and hurts crops. It is carried across borders on air currents, so pollutants generated in the United States may fall as acid rain in Canada and vice versa.

The Canada–United States Air Quality Agreement requires the two countries to work toward reducing toxic emissions that cause acid rain and to co-operate on conducting scientific research into the problem.

Multilateralism

Countries may also choose to take a multilateral approach to solving problems. **Multilateralism** involves several countries in working together on a given issue. Middle powers — countries such as Canada, Australia, and Chile, which are not superpowers but still exercise a degree of influence on world affairs — have traditionally chosen multilateral solutions. The influence of middle powers is increased when they stand together. Powerful international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organization are multilateral in nature.

How might multilateral actions increase the influence of middle powers?

Figure 9-15 Most members of the European Union have given up their national currency and adopted the euro, the common currency of the EU. But other EU members, such as Britain and Denmark, have chosen not to do this. Would you vote to give up Canadian money and adopt a North American currency if it seemed to promise more economic stability?

Supranationalism

Supranationalism is an approach that involves agreeing to abide by the decisions of an international organization made up of independent appointed officials or representatives elected by member states. Many academics view the European Union as a supranational organization because, when they join, member states must give up some control over their own affairs and adhere to EU policies.

In the EU, decisions are made by the majority and are rarely unanimous. Still, all members must abide by the majority decision, so countries must sometimes go along with policies and actions they disagree with.

Reflect and Respond

Is unilateral disarmament a good idea? List the pros and cons for Canada of unilaterally disarming and giving up its armed forces. You might consider how this would affect Canadian sovereignty and foreign policy, as well as what could be done with the money saved.

What are some understandings of internationalism?

The photograph of Earth at the beginning of this chapter suggested that humanity has one home and belongs to one community. This worldview suggests that all people are equal members of the world community and that people's common interests are more important than their differences.

J. Michael Adams and Angelo Carfagna reflected this view when they wrote in *Coming of Age in a Globalized World*: "The power of the nation-state in relation to international forces, particularly regarding economic issues, has declined. To succeed, people must think globally and deal with institutions and individuals throughout the world."

For many people, thinking globally means embracing **internationalism**. Internationalists believe that all members of the global community accept collective responsibility for the challenges that face the world — and that the varying motives of nations and nation-states must be respected in the search for solutions.

Read Socrates' words in "Voices." How might these words define Socrates as an internationalist?

Voices

I am not an Athenian or a Greek, but a citizen of the world.

— Socrates, Greek philosopher, 5th century BCE

FYI

Brock Chisholm, a Canadian doctor, was the first director general of the World Health Organization. A World War I veteran, he was a general in the Canadian Army Medical Corps during World War II, and in 1944, he was appointed Canada's deputy minister of health. One of Chisholm's main concerns was peace. He believed that it is important to teach children to care for and respect the rights of others and to become citizens of the world.

The World Health Organization

The World Health Organization was established in 1948 as an agency of the United Nations. The WHO is an example of an organization that takes an internationalist approach. Human health is a concern that knows no borders. Contagious diseases can quickly spread around the world and threaten everyone.

WHO staff co-ordinate information about diseases such as influenza, malaria, smallpox, tuberculosis, and AIDS. They also collect statistics on nutrition, population planning, sanitation, and the health of mothers and children.

One of the WHO's greatest triumphs has been the eradication — the complete destruction — of smallpox, a disease that had killed tens of millions of people over the course of human history. A worldwide vaccination campaign began in 1966. By the end of the 1970s, WHO officials had declared that the last case of smallpox had been found and that the disease was eradicated. This internationalist activity provided people everywhere with more security and stability.

Check with Nurse before entering
STOP
"BOTH" DOORS MUST BE KEPT CLOSED AT ALL TIMES
NO VISITORS ALLOWED!
"STRICT" "STRICT" ISOLATION AT ALL TIMES
THANK YOU

Figure 9-16 A nurse in protective clothing stands outside the room of a patient with severe acute respiratory syndrome, or SARS, at a Toronto hospital. SARS first appeared in China in 2002 and spread to a number of countries, including Canada, where it killed 44 people in Toronto. The WHO monitored the outbreak and co-ordinated worldwide measures to control the spread of the disease. Why is an internationalist approach to health problems important?

Figure 9-17 Paralympic racer Chantal Petitclerc (top) of Montréal is just one of many Canadian Olympians who act as athlete ambassadors for Right to Play. They help children, such as these youngsters (bottom) playing on a destroyed tank in Kuito, Angola. From 1975 to 2002, Angola was divided by a bitter civil war during which as many as 20 million landmines may have been planted.

Right to Play

Individuals can also practise internationalism through non-governmental organizations, or NGOs. The creation of NGOs is often inspired by individuals and groups who see a need that is not being met by governments.

In Canada, for example, play is part of life for children. But children in war-torn regions of the world often have nowhere to play. Landmines may have been planted, and children who play in these areas run the risk of setting off an explosion that can disable or kill them. Abandoned military equipment and spent ammunition and artillery shells may also make it impossible for children to do something as simple as kick around a ball.

In the early 1990s, this situation caught the attention of Olympic athletes and organizers. They were led by Johann Olav Koss, a Norwegian speed skater who had won four Olympic gold medals and donated much of his winnings to humanitarian organizations that tried to improve life for children in developing countries. These early initiatives led to the creation in 2003 of Right to Play, an international NGO dedicated to ensuring that children everywhere enjoy the same human rights as those in wealthier countries.

In countries such as Angola, which went through a brutal civil war, Right to Play uses games and sport to educate children about HIV/AIDS and healthy living. It also trains local and international volunteers to start and maintain programs. Reports show that the benefits of the programs include improved school attendance and leadership skills, as well as increased strength, flexibility, and endurance, and greater acceptance of and respect for others.

Is the right to play safely a basic human right that should be enjoyed by all children? All adults?

The Arctic Council

The Arctic Council is another example of an organization that takes an internationalist approach to resolving issues. Formed in 1996, its members include countries with territory in the Arctic: Canada, Denmark — including Greenland and the Faroe Islands — Finland, Iceland, Norway, the Russian Federation, Sweden, and the United States.

The council also includes permanent representatives of six organizations representing Indigenous peoples who live in the Arctic regions of member states. This combination of government and Indigenous peoples' representatives is a unique form of internationalism.

The Arctic Council promotes sustainable development and is dedicated to protecting the region's fragile environment. A priority is monitoring and supporting research on the effects of climate change in the Arctic.

Web Connection

To find out more about the Arctic Council's work on sustainable development and environmental protection, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Reflect and Respond

List five issues that require international co-operation to resolve, then rank them from most to least important. Explain each choice and the reasons for your ranking.

Clara Hughes
Supporting Children's Right to Play

When Clara Hughes won gold and silver medals at the 2006 Winter Olympics, she startled Canadians by donating $10 000 of her own money to Right to Play. She also challenged other athletes, organizations, and individuals to do the same — and they responded. By the end of 2006, Canadians had donated nearly $500 000 to the NGO.

Hughes believes that sport can change children's lives. It certainly did for her. Born in Winnipeg in 1972, she grew up playing a variety of sports, including ringette, hockey, volleyball, soccer, and softball. But when she hit her early teens, she seemed to be headed for trouble. She had started hanging out with kids whose choices were drawing them down a destructive path.

Hughes's interest in sports pulled her away from this path. "Competitive sport gave me the discipline I lacked as a teenager and gave me something worthwhile to focus on — it got me out of trouble!" she told *Pedal* magazine.

Hughes's Olympic dream began in 1988 when she was 16 years old. Watching the Winter Games on television, she fell in love with speed skating and took up the sport. But she was also a cyclist, and when it became obvious that she could compete internationally in this sport, she decided to focus on cycling.

This choice paid off when she won two bronze medals at the 1996 Olympic Summer Games. But speed skating was Hughes's first love, and in 2000, she returned to her favourite sport. After training for just seven weeks, she made the Canadian national team — and went on to win a bronze medal at the 2002 Winter Olympics.

In 2003, Hughes became an athlete ambassador for Right to Play. Then, at the 2006 Winter Olympics in Torino, Italy, she won her silver and gold medals and issued her challenge. As an ambassador for Right to Play, she has travelled to many of the poorest, war-torn regions of the world. She has helped set up play and sport programs for children and has become a high-profile advocate of children's rights.

Figure 9-18 In 2006, Clara Hughes (top) became the only Canadian athlete to win medals at both the Summer and Winter Olympics. That year, Hughes and cross-country skier Beckie Scott threw the first pitch at a Toronto Blue Jays game. Wearing their Right to Play jackets, the two Olympic champions seized the opportunity to grab some publicity for the organization.

Explorations

1. In what ways might athletes such as Clara Hughes be viewed as internationalists?
2. How might organizations like Right to Play benefit individuals and countries?

How does internationalism benefit nations and states?

Scarred and armed with experience we intend to take better measures this time to prevent a renewal in the lifetime of our children or grandchildren of the horrible destruction of human values which has marked the last and present World Wars. We intend to set up a world organization [the United Nations] equipped with all necessary attributes of power in order to prevent future wars or their planning in advance by restless or ambitious nations.

— Winston Churchill, British prime minister, to the British House of Commons, 1945

The two world wars of the 20th century did a great deal to promote internationalism. Many countries decided that the only hope of preventing another disastrous large-scale war was to join together as a world community. These countries believe that managing the world's affairs with greater openness and co-operation, as well as an acceptance of collective responsibility, will improve security and prosperity for all.

Peace and Security

As World War II drew to a close, the international community was concerned with maintaining peace and security and ensuring that a similar devastating war never happened again. Because the League of Nations, formed after World War I, had not achieved its main goals, countries founded a new international body: the United Nations.

With representatives from 192 countries, the UN provides a forum for discussing disputes and airing the grievances and concerns of member states. Though the UN has not prevented all armed conflict, there has not been another world war.

Read Winston Churchill's words in "Voices." Has the UN functioned as Churchill thought it should?

Economic Stability

Figure 9-19 A lone woman walks down a street in Warsaw, Poland, in 1946. Like Warsaw, much of Europe was in ruins at the end of World War II. How would rebuilding Europe help the entire world enjoy greater peace, security, and economic stability?

Representatives of the countries that gathered to found the UN also created two international financial bodies: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which is now part of the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, or IMF. Both are affiliated with the United Nations. Their purpose was to help Europe and Asia recover from the devastating economic effects of the war and to promote financial stability throughout the world.

Two years after the war ended, countries also created the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to promote economic stability by streamlining international trade. In 1995, the World Trade Organization evolved out of the GATT. Both had similar goals, but the WTO was also intended to be an independent body that could help resolve trade disputes.

By the 1980s, both the World Bank and the IMF had turned their attention to helping developing countries. But critics such as John Phiri, founding director of the NGO Global Justice Zambia, believe that all three bodies are dominated by the United States and other Western countries, which block the efforts of developing countries to achieve prosperity.

"The poverty which is going on in Africa is not natural, it is being manufactured by very selfish people in the WTO, IMF and World Bank," Phiri told the *Zimbabwe Herald*. "Rich countries continue to dominate global politics for their own interest. These institutions work on one principle — the high standard of living of rich nations is dependent on the low standard of living in the developing poor countries."

Indigenous Self-Determination

At the beginning of the 20th century, many regions of the world were colonies of European countries. As the century unfolded, however, many colonized territories achieved independence. The creation of the UN and the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights after World War II accelerated this process.

But when colonizing powers granted independence, the voices of Indigenous peoples were often ignored. In the last half of the 20th century, Indigenous peoples in many countries began demanding their rights, including the right to self-determination. To help achieve their goals, they began working together in various international organizations, such as the International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs.

They also lobbied the United Nations, which established the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in 2000. And in September 2007, after more than 20 years of negotiation, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. This declaration confirmed Indigenous peoples' right to self-determination.

Four countries — Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand — voted against adopting the declaration. Canada's representative argued that clauses relating to territories and resources were too broad and vague and might interfere with treaties that had already been negotiated.

Web Connection

To read more about the struggles of Indigenous peoples, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

VOICES

Today's real borders are not between nations, but between powerful and powerless, free and fettered, privileged and humiliated. Today, no walls can separate humanitarian or human rights crises in one part of the world from national security crises in another.

— Kofi Annan, secretary general of the United Nations, 2002

Humanitarianism

International initiatives also help countries respond more quickly to humanitarian emergencies. On December 26, 2004, for example, an earthquake on the floor of the Indian Ocean created a huge tsunami that devastated the coastal areas of many Southeast Asian countries. Entire villages and towns were swept away, and more than 200 000 people in 11 countries were killed.

The world had not experienced a natural disaster of this scale in decades, but international humanitarian and relief agencies such as the Red Cross and Médecins Sans Frontières quickly swung into action. They supplied medical help, clean water, food, and supplies. Governments and individuals also responded with donations of money and supplies for rebuilding.

At one time, the global community would not have known about a disaster like this until a great deal of time had passed. Is the world better off because people know?

Figure 9-20 A village near the coast of Sumatra lies in ruins after a huge tsunami struck Southeast Asia on December 26, 2004. International agencies — agencies based outside any single state — arrived on the scene quickly. What benefits do states and nations receive from such organizations?

1. Think about the chapter issue: To what extent does involvement in international affairs benefit nations and states? In a short paragraph or in point form, comment on how each of the following relates to this issue:
   a) Poet Archibald MacLeish's statement that people are "riders on the earth together" (p. 209).
   b) Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs (p. 210).
   c) The statement by Elders of the Carcross Tagish First Nation: "Therefore we are part of the earth and the water" (p. 213).
   d) Jean-Pierre Lindiro Kabirigi's statement that what the Democratic Republic of Congo profoundly needs is "patriotism of the elites" (p. 215).
   e) John Donne's statement, which is quoted by Pearl: "And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee" (p. 221).
   f) Socrates's statement in "Voices": "I am not an Athenian or a Greek, but a citizen of the world" (p. 223).
   g) Kofi Annan's statement in "Voices": "Today, no walls can separate humanitarian or human rights crises in one part of the world from national security crises in another" (p. 227).

2. In 2000, Raoni Metyktire, chief of the Kayapo, who live in Brazil's Amazon rainforest, went on a world tour to try to encourage people to join the battle to stop the destruction of the rainforest. He said:

> I came to you 10 years ago to explain my concerns regarding the destruction of the Amazon rainforest. I talked to you about the fires, the burning sun, and the strong winds that would blow if man continued to destroy the forest.
>
> You have supported me and given me the means to mark out the boundaries of our ancestral lands. This has now been done: it is an enormous area, full of wildlife, flowers and fruit. It is the most beautiful forest.
>
> Above all, to all those who have given us money or help, I want to say on behalf of the Kayapo people thank you. Nambikwas – meikumbre . . . We all breathe the same air, we all drink the same water, we all live on the same planet. We must all protect it.
>
> People have started to trespass on our land again. The woodcutters and gold miners do not respect the reserve's boundaries. We do not have the means to protect this enormous forest of which we are the guardians for you all.

With a partner or small group, think about the meaning of this statement. Work through the steps to decision making and problem solving ("Focus on Skills," pp. 218–219) to reach a decision about whether the international community should support the Kayapo in their battle to persuade Brazil to do more to save the rainforest.

- Establish a goal.
- Consider the complex issues that underlie the question.
- Brainstorm ideas.
- Evaluate alternatives.
- Make a decision.

Be prepared to share your decision, and the criteria you used to reach it, with the class. Reflect on the process you used to reach this decision.

3. Non-governmental organizations such as Right to Play, the Red Cross, and Médecins Sans Frontières represent a form of internationalism that goes beyond nations and states. List three points that people on each side might argue in a debate on the following statements:
   a) International NGOs such as Right to Play can do more for people than nations and states can.
   b) International NGOs such as Right to Play have no lasting effect on people in developing countries.
   c) People trust international NGOs such as Right to Play to provide humanitarian aid more effectively than governments do.
   d) Humanitarian aid could reach people faster and more effectively if international NGOs worked more closely with national governments.
4. Patrice Lumumba helped the Republic of Congo win independence from Belgium in 1960 and served as the country's first prime minister. He said, "Without dignity there is no liberty, without justice there is no dignity, and without independence there are no free men."

   In a paragraph for each of the following motives of nations and nation-states, explain how Lumumba's message supports the idea that nation-states serve their citizens most effectively when they meet citizens' needs in these areas:
   - economic stability
   - peace and security
   - self-determination
   - humanitarianism
5. For the next week, scan newspapers, magazines, and online news services to find examples of unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral responses to world events or issues. You may also watch TV news or listen to radio news broadcasts.

   Choose one example and prepare an oral or written presentation that explains the event or issue and why you classified the response as unilateral, bilateral, or multilateral. Predict whether the response is likely to result in a positive, negative, or mixed outcome.

   Save your response. As time permits, track the event or issue as it evolves to find out whether your prediction was accurate. Share your prediction and the actual results with a partner. Discuss why you think your prediction was — or was not — accurate.

Think about Your Challenge

Look back at the challenge for this related issue. It asks you to play the role of a delegate to an international summit convened to respond to the international water crisis.

With your group, review the list of summit stakeholders suggested in the challenge (pp. 206–207). If you wish, you may add to this list. Decide which roles members of your group will play. This will provide you with the point of view or perspective needed to begin collecting information for the presentations that you and members of your group will make.